612/16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that
602 the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

●124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

114 /17 cont./ 1. It is therefore not surprising that in the summary chapter on social organization in his book Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht. /Principles and System of Adat Law/ Ter Haar assigns "the village and district communities of South Celebes" to the "communities in which the genealogical factor... has no significance" (p. 15). Using the available literature, his conclusion could not be different. Here it will become apparent how incorrect this interpretation is.

● 124 Hence kin relationships of the residents of a kampong territory were recorded. For this purpose the names of all kampong residents were taken down from house to house, and at the same time kinship connections of the occupants were collected for each house. The kinship connections between the occupants of various houses were then traced. In so doing it appeared simplest to ask everyone whether he was related to the Kapala or his wife, and if so, in what degree. The fact [592] that, aside from a few exceptions, members of a household always turned out to be kinsmen facilitated the investigation because it was possible to indicate precisely which houses belonged to the Kapala's group of relatives and which did not.

124 612 Everyone was counted of the Kapala's group of relatives who believed himself to be related to him or his wife and of whom this was not denied. The latter happened once. It concerned a kampong functionary who had few kinsmen in Bontoramba but who had obtained influence through his personal qualities (his organizational ability, his eloquence) and

124 /17 cont./ who now wished to improve his position by being
612 regarded as a distant kinsman of the Kapala. It was the
[608] daughter of the Kapala himself who made it clear to him that his opinion could not possibly be correct. /18/ Furthermore,
[609] the strangers, that is to say, the non-kinsmen married to a member of the Kapala group, whose children thus also belonged to this group, were likewise counted among the Kapala related group.

124 In the sole instance in which -- while the married couple
612 were not related to each other -- individual kinsmen of the
592 man, as well as of the woman (who belonged to the Kapala group), lived in their house, the man's kinsmen were not included in the Kapala group; he himself was.

124 Aside from traceable relatives, a number of relatives by
612 marriage were therefore also counted among the related group. The latter should accordingly be defined more accurately as a traditional bilateral endogamous group of relatives.

Among the Buginese, none of whom were related to the Kapala, a prominent man called Mangenre was used for the same purpose as the Kapala in the first group, so that with respect to the occupants of a number of houses, it can be said that they belong to Mangenre's group of relatives. With regard to the occupants of the remaining houses, the mutual kinship
[128] relationship, insofar as it existed, could then be easily established. For the sake of convenience, the first group will be called the Kapala group, the second the Mangenre group, and the last the Rest group.

621 The result of this investigation showed that of a total of 129 houses, the Kapala group occupied 81, the Mangenre group 18, and that the Rest group lived in the remaining 30 houses.
[612] The latter's members belonged to 13 different groups of relatives. The members of one group of the Rest group lived distributed over nine houses; those a second group over five houses, and those of a third over three houses. In three cases persons related to each other occupied two houses, and in the

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

● 124 125 167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag.

M 181 609 177

C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling.

C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site.

C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow.

M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

3: Kennedy E-5 (1949-50) 1953 OBI Indonesia
Makassar OG6

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-50

PART I

SOUTH CELEBES

Balombaru - Bukaka - Merante

Field study begun August 12th, 1949. 124 ● [115]

I decided to start at once at the kampong near Makassar. I will hire a man to collect the basic facts on the basis of my outline [acculturation schedule]. Then I will go to Sadang and Bone, for about one week in each place, and start two other assistants working there, one in each place. I had the good luck, through van Heekeren, to meet Abdul Rahim. He is from the kampong Balombaru, near Makassar, and just outside the gemeente (haminta) [municipality] limits, but a separate unit. Cense and Chabot also studied here, and Rahim helped. My plan may involve a longer stay in Makassar, and I will try my best. Today, Friday, I started, but I still have to get an assistant here. Rahim is looking for one and says he will get a relative. He speaks [to RK] only Dutch, and the assistants in mind speak only Malay. Therefore it was necessary to get the schedule translated into Dutch and Malay.

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community] Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs (check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself, going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the entering road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It appeared that most of the houses were located along the roads. I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not placed too close together so that the air could come up into the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e., of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands. Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation from time to time. However, she did sit at another table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 ● M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
855 children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim said there were some farmers in the village, but there was not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friederícy as the one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was acting as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy, ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter of salary for this man. He told me that things were expensive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hundred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150. He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh) who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 ● 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
361 The road took me across great mountains. I could see endless curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the distance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country. There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law] stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

● 124 I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone, and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggrahan, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
[292] I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

M 124

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. [115] There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them.

M 123 565

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

M 505 292 578

C 565 634

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1

C 565 634 third man in the Aru Pitu, who, together with the Arumpone and the Makadangetana, form the self-government council of the State. With them sits the Sulewatang Udjung, Minister of Information. The same general pattern holds in Wadjo and Soppeng. Each minister has a function, for example, police civil, etc. The Tomarilalang is a young fellow, tall, and good looking. He seems intelligent and quiet; though really dumb as I found out later.

C 565 557 578 I talked with the Tomarilalang about changes, for example, in clothing. I later found out from the Dutch police advisor that the Arumpone fears the Tomarilalang, and others as well, for possible intrigue. I also found out later that the Makadangetana, the old stocky fellow with a mustache who was formerly only a kampong chief, rose slowly until he became even Minister of War. So there is mobility at least within the higher class, and maybe within the middle class.

C 647 563 I talked a great deal with Thierens, a young intelligent Dutch controleur. He is sympathetic toward the native attempt, and like most Dutch now working with them seems to be of the high and democratic type. For example, Thierens asked what I thought was the case among the conservatives who still hold on in Batavia. He saw much trouble ahead for the natives, and I agree. He said that now all the Dutch here are assistants to native officials. The police advisor later said that they were advisors only. I got the idea that the old ways were completely gone. I noticed the great respectful attitude of the Dutch toward native upper classes. They are now the second men. But, as far as I could see, the natives were also very polite. At least this seems to be so in South Celebes.

M 124 291 596 609 574 Next day we went to the kampong of Bukaka which is almost inside Watampone. It has a population of about 3,000. I went to the house of the Kepala kampong in my jeep with Sulewatang Udjung and Andi. Sulewatang Udjung is always well dressed. He wears an elaborate, ornate closed jacket and sarong, and on his head the horsehair and gold bordered songkok. He is an old fellow with a bad case of tuberculosis and Thierens warned him to be careful. But when I visit him he offers tea and awful gummy Buginese cake, and I must eat it. A large crowd lives in his house. There is much evidence of an extended family. He said he had eight children and thirty grandchildren. It seems that most of them are here. They are pretty good looking and rather well dressed. This is an indication of why they need political jobs. Andi, for 000 example, works in the Office of Economic Affairs. The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali, guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

124 342 622 624 565

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

691 685

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always removed. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
●124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
102 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friederic y). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman.
I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
● 124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563 427

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on.

764 782 563 755

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist.

1240 000

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house 124
of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population.

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is 166
relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village.

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears 563
that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night. 535 181 152 832 292

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with. 124●

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes. 163

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary. 861 828

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the 562 584 883 181